

A Comparative study of “Aharya” of Sattriya and Manipuri Classical Dance forms of North-East

Dimple Saikia

Research Scholar

Dept. Rabindra Sangit, Dance & Drama, Sangit Bhavana

Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, W.B.

E-mail: dimplesaikia89@gmail.com

Abstract

This article talks about the dress and décor of the two enduring traditions of North-Eastern states of India i.e. Sattriya dance from Assam and Manipuri dance from Manipur. Attire always play a signficatory role in dance. It has high aesthetic appeal and approach. Classical Dance is no less to it. Each costume represents the cognizance and momentousness of its style. The costumes of the two dance forms differ to some extent from the ritual presentation when performing compositions on the proscenium stage. This article would be focusing on the comparison of the Aharya of the two Classical Dance forms of North-Eastern states.

Key words: Aharya, Sattriya dance, Manipuri dance, Ritual, Performing Art.

Bharatamuni discusses about the *Aharya Abhinaya* in the twenty third chapter of Natyashastra as:

Aharyabhinayam vipra vyakhasyamymanupurvash /

Yasmat prayogah sarvo yamaharyabhinaye sthitah // (Unni 2014, 1043)

Whereas in Abhinayadarpana *aharya* means the *Alankara-*

Aharjya harakeyuravesadibhiralamkritih / (Sashtri 1991, 25)

Adya Rangacharya states, “Now I shall speak of Aharya Abhinaya in proper order; the success of the production depends on it. This is abhinaya connected with nepathya and, in the interest of the success of the play, this must be studied” (Rangacharya 2019, 174).

Bharatamuni classified *Aharya Abhinaya* as:

1. Pusta
2. Alankara
3. Angaracana
4. Sanjiva

Pusta is further classified into three types:

1. Sandhima
2. Vyajima
3. Cestima

N.P Unni defined, “Modelled objects made of bamboo, leather and cloth for the purpose of representation in a drama is known as Sandhima (joined ones). A model making use of a mechanical contrivance may be known as Vyajima (contrivance) while that which is covered up is called Cestima (wrapped up things). Mountain, vehicles, aerial chariots, shields, armours, flagstuffs, trees etc; which are made for the use of the performance of drama belong to the class of models” (Unni 2014, 1044). Bharatamuni classifies the ornaments (*Alankara*) into various types. The second category includes ornaments, costumes etc. Necklaces are classified into five kinds:

1. Vestima (encircling)
2. Vitata (stretched)
3. Sanghatya (grouped)
4. Granthima (tied up)
5. Pralambita (hanging down)

Ornaments are of four kinds:

1. Avedhya (piercing)
2. Bandhaniya (binding)
3. Ksepya (wearing)
4. Aropya (putting on)

Kundala (earrings) falls in the first kind; Girdle and bracelet comes under the second category; Anklets and necklaces in the third and fourth category respectively. Bharatamuni prescribed different ornaments for both men and women according to regions, emotions, sentiments and occasions. He further added about the costumes of different women according to different *Pravrittis*.

“Ladies of the Avanti region should have the tuft of hair with spilling curls of locks on the forehead. The Gauda women should have braid with curls on the forehead. The Abhira ladies should have hair plaited into two braids, a veil over the head and garments mostly blue in colour. For the women of the North-East region there should be a raised crest with a veil covering the head. For the women of the southern region marks on the forehead is essential..... For women in separation the cloth should be pure white and they should not wear much ornament. They should avoid washing and cleaning” (Unni 2014, 1055-1056).

Angaracana means the make-up. The make-up differs according to different characters in the drama. The basic four colours (white, blue, yellow and red) *Sanjiva* is another classification

of *Aharya abhinaya*. The entry of living animals, human beings, birds etc on the stage is called *Sanjiva*. They may be four-footed, two-footed or footless.

Bharatamuni provides details regarding the costumes, ornaments, make-up which differ according to different *pravrittis*, characters and various occasions. The costumes and jewellery plays a vital role by intensifying the performance spiritually and aesthetically.

Attire of Sattriya Dance

The *Aharya* plays quite a distinctive role in Sattriya dance as it has two different attires for male and female. To make it captivating on the proscenium stage the dress and décor of Sattriya dance is improvised and stylized while traditional ingenious attire is used in the dance numbers for worshipping in the satras. *Ekaharya* is a newly added concept in Sattriya repertoire where both male and female graces are presented in single attire. The upper garment of female consists of different blouses like *Buku-cula* (short or quarter sleeved), *Jakit-cula* (full sleeved), two pieces of cloth (*ga-kapur*) hanging from both the shoulders and coming to the knee length, a veil (*orna*) as *sirasthana* (head ornament) is worn to cover the bun is mostly used in traditional repertoire while a dancer may perform without it in composed items on stage. White artificial flowers are put around the bun. The lower garment is the *Ghuri* based on the design of Assamese *mekhela*. Above the *ghuri*, waist belt and *anchal* on the two sides are worn and *tangali* in front gives a perpendicular look.

Ornaments includes the Assamese jewellery. Red mark with small white dots around is applied on the forehead.



Ornaments of Female Characters



Ekaharya concept in Sattriya

Sometimes a female dancer wears a dhoti as lower garment keeping the upper garment same as female attire to perform some choreographed composition in *ekaharya* concept.

The male costume, consist a dhoti as lower garment and *Kanchi* is used on the waist. The upper garment consists of a *chapkan cula* or *buku cula* or even perform with a bare body as per the dancer's choice. *Cheleng*- a piece of long cloth hung from the left shoulder and tied it on the right side of the waist. As ornaments, *motamani*, *monimala*, *unti* or *kundala* (earrings), *baju* or *gamkharu* at the wrist, *baju* or *balaya* (armlet) are put on. *Urdhapundra* 'U' shape mark or a round white mark is used on the forehead. The male dancer used *Pag* or *Paguri* (turban), *Kirita* or *Mukut* (crown) as headgear ornament.



Artist: Gobinda Saikia (a)



Artist: Dipjyoti and Dipankar (b)



Artist: Niranjan Saikia (c)

Pic: Male attire in modern repertoire (a, b, c)

The dress and décor of Sattriya dance can be categorized according to:

1. Dance numbers included in theatrical representation
2. Independent Dance numbers

The traditional attire as performed in the ritual services differ according to different dance numbers. The *Gayan Bayan*, *Sutradhari nac*, *Gosai Pravesar nac*, *Gopi Pravesar nac*, *Behar nac*, *Rasar nac*, *Jhumura nac* are some of the dance numbers included in the dramatic representation. The second category included those dance numbers that are outside the theatrical wing such as *Chali nac*, *Rojaghoriya chali nac*, *Manchok nac*, *Ojapali* etc. Some of the costumes of the dance numbers are describe below:

- ***Gayan Bayan*** is the prelude to *ankiya naat* which consists of white dhoti or sometimes *pat* or *muga* (silk) dhoti in special occasions as the lower garment. *Chapkan cula* (full sleeved trouser coming up to the knee) and *cheleng*-a piece of white cloth is used as upper garment. *Paguri*- the headgear, and a *Bokul* flower garland is put in front of the headgear. Ornaments -a rosary of *Tulsi* (Basil) leaves, wooden garland and *motamoni*. Forehead is marked with a white round *phut*.



Costume of Gayan Bayan
Photo credit: Arup jyoti Kalita

- In the costume of *Sutradhari nritya* the *Sutradhara* wears the upper garment a white long *cula* (full sleeves) coming to the waist and quill (*kuchi*) at the wrist (*astin*), *sutradhari kapur*- a piece of cloth is placed over the shoulder in the form of an isosceles triangle where ‘V’ is formed at the back and the two ends flow in the front. *Fulam* (flowery) *Tangali* is tied at the waist allowing the ends to flow perpendicularly. The lower garment is a white *ghuri* or *Jama* (skirt). He wears a white or silver coloured readymade turban. “Two types of Sutradhara’s head-dress are seen: one is a turban (*pag/paguri*), either with upright sides (*thiya-kaniya*), elliptical from bird’s eye view and slightly protruding at the back end, as seen in the Kamalabari-sattra; the other in the style, called *Moglai-tupi*, ‘a Mughal cap’, looking like the head-gear of the Mughal Emperors, with the back end protruding, or the head-dress of some of the male Kathak dancers” (Neog 1984, 30). *Citkapur* (a piece of cloth) is placed beneath the turban. Ornaments include *motamani* or necklace with red or golden beads and pearls. He puts *unti* or *kundala* as ear ornament and *gamkharu* as wrist ornament. *Nupur* is worn at the ankle. The *urdhapunda* ‘U’ *tilaka* is marked on the forehead.



Artist: Niranjan Saikia in Sutradhari costume

- ***Gosai Pravesar nac*** is the dance of Lord Krishna and Lord Rama in the *ankiya bhaona*. The upper garment traditionally consists of black/dark blue colour short sleeved cloth with a ‘V’ shaped in the front. The lower garment is a yellow coloured dhoti, *Kamar bandh* (girdle) and *Kanchi* is put on the waist. *Mukut or kiriti* (looks like a tiara with a number of spikes) with a peacock feather in case of Krishna and without it in case of Rama is worn as a headgear. *Citkapur* is put beneath the headgear. Ornaments includes *Motamani*, *dholbiri*, *angamala* around the neck, *unti* or *kundala* in ears, *gamkharu* or *baju* at wrist, *baju* as armband and *nupur* or *junuka* as foot ornament. The forehead is marked with the *urdhapunda* ‘U’ tilaka.



Artist: Gobinda Saikia



Traditional Gosai Pravesar costume.
Artist: Dayanand Borah

Gosai Pravesar costume on stage
Pic credit: Biswajit Bordoloi
Artist: Naren Baruah and Borish Dutta





Nupur



Mukut



Kanchi

Costume of *Gopi Pravesar nac*:

The dance performed by the *Gopis* in *ankiya bhaona* are called *Gopi Pravesar nac*. The *gopis* wear *ghuri* or *lehenga* of white colour with assamese motifs, blue blouse (*cula*) made out of cotton or velvet cloth, two pieces of lace (*poti*) is seen in 'V' shaped both in front and back are worn. Waist belt, *anchal* on the two sides and a *tangali* in the middle are put on. The hair knot (*khupa*) in the middle is mandatory. Light coloured piece of cloth or a netted veil is placed above the hair, while in *Kamalabari* *sattras* the *gopis* are seen without wearing it. However, it is worn by the married *gopis* like Rukmini or Satyabhama and not necessary to wear by unmarried *gopis*. Ornamentation includes all assamese jewellery viz *dugdugi*, *junbiri*, *japi*, *sitipoti*, *muthikharu* etc. A red coloured *tilak* is put on the forehead surrounding with small white dots. They put *nupur* or *junuka* as ankle ornament.



Young boys in Gopis attire

Some of the costumes of the other dance numbers:



Traditional dress of *Jhumura nac*



Source: Mridusmita Dutta
Costume of *Jhumura nac* on proscenium stage



Krishna and gopis in *Rasar nac*
Pic credit: B.J photos

Costume of *Suddha Chali* and *Rojaghoriya Chali nac*:

The *chali* dance is the creation of Madhavdeva where boys were made dressed in girls' attire and made them perform in the *rangiyal ghar* (Play house) of Barpeta sattra, Assam. The dance represents a pious relation between the Lord and his devotees. Traditionally gopis wear white *ghuri* with blue or black coloured blouse (*cula*). 'V' shaped lace is hung over the shoulder and waist band is tied along with *anchal* and *tangali* around the waist. Hair bun with a veil covering the bun from the head to neck and tied under the chin (represents the crest of a peacock) keeping the face open.

The *Rojaghoriya cali nac* is the female improvised dance form which meant to be performed in the royal courts. The attire is same as the *suddha cali nac*.



Costume of Cali nac in traditional repertoire
(Photo credit: Arup Jyoti Kalita)

The cali dance is performed in the ritual (*Naimittik Prasanga*) of the Bhadro month of Guru Kirtana (2nd day of tithi). Bhadamohiya tithi is an annual festival (*Naimittik Prasanga*) celebrated in sattras with great fervor of the death anniversaries of the three celebrated gurus (Sankardeva, Madhavdeva and Badala Padma Ata). It is also performed on the commemoration of death ceremony of *Sattradhikar* and *Burha Bhokot* (aged adhyapak in the sattra).



Costume of Cali dance on proscenium stage
(Photo Credit: Arup Jyoti Kalita)

- The **costume of Nadubhangi nac** is similar to that of *Behar nac* and *Bar pravesar nac*. It is taught as a foremost dance number in the sattras. Traditionally in the *Kamalabari sattrā*, it was performed in three pairs of *gopas* and *gopis* of Vrindavana dressed in three different costumes, viz Krishna, Jhumura and Cali nac (Saikia 1997, 104-105).



Source: Mousumi Borah
Traditional attire of Behar nac,
Nadubhangi nac
and Bar Pravesar nac

Costume of Sattriya Ojapali:

Sattriya Ojapali is nurtured and cultured in the sattras and is similar with the *Vyahgowa Ojapali* in context of subject matter. *Oja* is the leader of the group and *palis* are his assistant. There are 20-25 *palis* in the group who sings and plays small cymbals (*khuti-taal*) by keeping rhythm in their feet. The *Dainapali* acted as chieftain among the *palis*. The *oja* wears white /silk/muga *dhoti* and a netted *cula* with a piece of cloth hanging from both sides of the shoulder with 'V' shaped design at the back side. While the *palis* wear a pure white *dhoti* with a *chadar* or a *cheleng* is put on as *urdhavasa* garment. A white *paguri* (headgear) with a small garland of *bokulful* (mimusops elengi) is put on at the top. Ornaments include *motamani*, beads of red and golden, *gamkharu* (wrist) in case of *Oja*. The *palis* wore a rosary of *tulsi* (basil) around the neck. A white mark is put on the forehead by all the performers. But when a new *oja* is performed for the first time in the sattria precinct he wears purely the same costume of *Sutradhara* in *Sutradhari nritya* (observed in *Natun Kamalabari Sattria*).



Ojapali Performance

Masks is another striking feature of *Ankiya naat*. The great saint Sankardeva used the *chomukha* with the aim to represent unusual appearances like Garuda and Jatayu, Marich and Subahu, the giant grotesque Kaliya serpent, monkey characters like Hanumana and Sugriva are all seen putting on masks except the human characters. The sole aim was purely to offer amusement to the unlettered masses.



Demoness Taraka in
Ramavijaya naat



Marich and Subah in
Ramavijaya naat



Mask of Garuda

The indigenous process of making colours for angaracana was quite famous in sattras which is replaced by various modern make-up substances today. The following materials were used for producing different colours: (Mahanta 2016, 273)

- Hengul (Vermilion) – red colour
- Haital (yellow arsenic) – yellow colour
- Nila (indigo) – blue colour
- Dhalmati (chalk) – white colour
- Geruwamati (brown) – brown colour
- Chai (ashes of lamp-wick) – black colour

- Anjana (collyrium) – black colour
- Balicanda (mica) – glitters

Mixed colours were also produced with combination of the above colours.

Today Sattriya dance is not only performed by the boys in the sattras but more girls are seen performing on the theatre simultaneously. Consequently, much changes in attire is observed to cope up with the changed circumstances of time.

Attire of Manipuri Dance

Rajarshi Bhagyachandra introduced the Rasalila which was shown to him in his dream by Lord Krishna and was him who first conceived the costumes of the *Rasalila*. The vibrant and ornate costumes worn by the gopis and Radha in *Rasalila* brings life to the performance.

It is so intensely manifested in the minds of individuals that one cannot imagine a Manipuri dance without this *Rasa* costume. The classical Manipuri repertoire includes the costumes of *Rasalila* and *Sankirtana*. Both male and female attires are perceived articulately in the form.

Costume of Krishna:

The upper garment of Krishna consists of dark green *reshamphurit* with or without sleeves. Mirrored *Pisingdrai* is worn in the middle of the chest. The lower garment comprises a yellow silk *phaijom* (dhoti) with green temple border. The hip ornament tied on the waist is called *dhara*. Two *khaons*, at the two sides (one in the right and the other in the left) hanging down from the two shoulders, are worn. Krishna's outfit also included the *khoangoi* and the *khoangnop* like the costume of Radha. For the head dress, Krishna is seen wearing the *nakhum*, a velvet cap forms the base decorated with silver zari border. Above the *nakhum* a triangular wooden piece covered with golden paper is adjoined and the *cirong* embellished with silver wire and sequins is attached to it. The *cuda* made of peacock feathers is affixed to the *nakhum* and in the centre it is designed with beads, gold and silver threads. The performer wears the *koknam* and above this is the *kajenglei*, consisting of eighty to hundred thin brass strips. These are tied to the circular metal ring called *phalalain*. The long *cerai*, made of white paper is worn above the *kajenglei* at the back. Ornaments comprising *tal*, *tankha*, *ratanchud*, *ananta*, *sanakhuji*, *kyanglikphang*, *heikru* etc. The earring is known as *comoi*

/kundalnine. Feet ornament is the *khongdop*. Krishna's fascinating attire is known as *Natabarvesh*.



Natabaravesh

Artist: Sruti Bandopadhay

Artist: Somabha Bandopadhay

Costume of Radha and Gopis:

The costumes worn by Radha and gopis in *Rasalilas* are called '*Potloi*'. The upper garment includes the *reshamphurit* (blouse), generally a red coloured *reshamphurit* is worn by Radha and green coloured by the gopis. Above the *reshamphurit* a white piece of cloth, *thabakyet*, is tightly worn below the shoulders down to the waist. This is followed in all the *Rasalilas* except in *Nityarasa* and *Divarasa*. The lower garment is the *kumin*, a stiff skirt beautifully decorated by embroidery with silver sequins and zari borders. It is said that the design of the *kumin* is conceived from the *phanek*, the traditional garment for women during the reign of king Jayasingha (Singh 1988, 177). Radha and Chandrabali wear a green *kumin* while the gopis wears red *kumin*. *Poswan* is worn above the *kumin* which is a short stiff skirt. *Khaon*, a rectangular piece decorated with zari, gold and glass pieces is worn on the right side hanging from the left shoulder. *Khoangoi* and *khoangnop* are the two-waist garments. The first is the waist belt while the second one is the rectangular piece hanging in front.

There are basically two types of head dress- *koktumbi* and *jhapa*. The *koktumbi* is worn during *Maharasa*, *Kunjarasa* and *Vasantarasa* while the *jhapa* is used in *Nityarasa* and *Divarasa*. *Koktumbi* is placed by erecting at the centre of head and covering it with a transparent cloth. This transparent cloth- *maikhum* extends covering the face in front and stretches up to hip portion to the back. The position of the hair knot is different in different Rasalilas. In *Kunjarasa*, it is in the side and in *Vasantarasa* the hair knot is in behind (Bandopadhyay 2010, 205). *Cubalei* is the decorated threads that hungs from the sides of *koktumbi*. The decorations of glass work at the conical bun called as *samjithet* and *samji makhing* is the silver lining around the base of the conical bun. *Koknom* is the headband worn by Radha and all gopis.

The *jhapa* is made up of brass and silver sequins putting at the back of the head during *Nityarasa* and *Divarasa*. *Kurak* is the small ornamental butterflies worn at either sides of the hair parting. The veil is used to cover the bun and not the face. *Karnaphul* is the ear ornament and *damini* is the ornament worn at the hair-parting.

Jamini Devi penned, “Regarding the costumes of the Nityaras, Shrimati Rajkumari Nityaibad Sanajaobi, who once served as the leader of the Raseswari Pala, has thus expressed: While Major Maxwell was carrying out the administration of the land as the Chief Political agent (Boro Saheb), Surchandra Maharaja’s youngest daughter, Sanatombi (later known as Borosaheb Ongbi), dedicated the Nityaras in the courtyard of Maxwell sahib. The Makokchingbi for the dance was Sanatombi, and Nityaibad Sanajaobi took the role of Radha. When they were told not to use the Koktumbi decorations, the use of Jhapas and butterflies for the head was introduced” (J. Devi 2010, 63). *Tala*-armlet made of beads, *Ananta*-upper armlet made of brass, *Tanthak*- silver ornament worn above the *tala* or the *Ananta*, *Tankha*- a flower shaped design made of silver thread and beads and attached to two stips on two sides to be worn at the elbow. *Ratanchud* a flower decorative piece worn in the middle finger and the upper part is connected to the bangles. *Sanakhuji*- bass bangles are the hand ornaments. Ear ornaments includes the *kundalini* made of brass. Neck ornaments includes *yangoi*, *sanrembi*, *heikru*, *marai*, *haibi mapal* etc. Feet ornaments nupur (*Khongji*) and *Khongdop*.



Radha's attire in Maharasa



Gopis Attire

Artist: Shreya Mahata



Rasalila at Govindajee temple

Costume of other characters in *Gosthalila*:

Besides the costumes of Radha, Krishna and Gopis, there are other characters in *Gosthalila* that successfully marked its niche in the attire. *Kumin* of *Rasalila*, *koktumbi*, *khamencetpa* and all other various ornaments are seen wearing by the minor protagonists. The *koet*- headgear, differs in size among the male characters. Krishna's companion wears the costume of Krishna in *Rasalila*. They all wear *nupura* on their feet. Krishna holds *singa* or *horn* flute, Balarama holds the plough and *gopabalakas* hold a flute and stick. Masks are also seen to be used by characters such as Bakasura and Dhenukasura.

Phaijom is worn for performing male graces form while in *lasya* technique performed by Radha and gopis *kumin* is worn.

It is found that artists especially from the Bipin Singh Gharana are trying to bring out the concept of one costume (*Ekaharya*) for both male and female dance number.

Costume of Sankirtana:

Sankirtana is the community prayer to god. It is also act as a prelude to the *Rasalilas*. They generally included the *choloms* (*pung* and *kartal*) that forms an inseparable part of Manipuri culture. These *Sankirtanas* are performed at numerous festivals and occasions like marriage, death ceremony, *annaprasanna* (feeding solid food for the first time to an infant). The *Sankirtana* costume comprises all white in colour. The performers wear white *phaijom*, a white *koyet* – turban. Different types of *Sankirtana* are observed to be performed in Manipur. *Bangadesapala* is the old *pala* known as *Aribapala* and the new *pala/ Nata pala* known as *Anoubapala* was introduced by Rajarshri Bhagyachandra. Numerous resemblances and derivatives are found in between the two *palas*. The performers of *aribapala* wore big turbans- *koyet* from the *Thang-ta* presentation whereas the *koyet* of *anoubapala* performers is smaller in size. *Leironphijin*, a cloth is tied around the waist of *aribapala* performers unlike the *anoubapala* performers.

The *palas* performed by men with *Pung* and *Kartala* are called *Cholom*. Besides these *palas* there are other *palas* known as *Raseswari pala* and *Nupipala* solely performed by the womenfolk wearing *phanek* and *inaphi* with small cymbals (*mandila*) holding in their hands.



Sankirtana Performance



Nupipala

The costumes of Manipuri dance are quite appealing and *Rasalila* stands outstanding having a high aesthetic and devotional appearance.

The Observations are found as below:

- Two different attires for both male and female graces are found in both the dance forms.



Male costume in Sattriya dance



Male costume in Manipuri dance



Costume of Krishna in Sattriya dance



Natabaravesh in Manipuri dance

- The attire of *Gayan Bayan* and *Sankirtana* are similar to each other with all white in colour. The troupe consists of *Gayan*(Singer) and *Bayan* (drummer) in Sattriya repertoire while in Sankirtana, the singer is called as *Iseihaiba* and the drummer as *Pungoiba*.



Gayan Bayan attire



Sankirtana attire

- No women participants are found in the ritual services of Assam while women in Manipur holds a significant place in the Vaishnavite scenario, which is evident from the participation of females in Rasalilas in the temples of Manipur and the female Sankirtana performance is known as Nupipala.
- The lower garment of female is *ghuri* in Sattriya whereas in Manipuri dance it is *Kumin*. Dhoti and *Phaijom* is used by male characters as lower garment.
- The *anchal* and *tangali* or the *kanchi* have close resemblance to the *khaon*, *khoangnop* and *khoangoi* -waist garment (rectangular in shape at the sides and in front) of Sattriya and Manipuri dance respectively.



- The veil covering the face of the Radha and Gopis in Manipuri dance and the veil that is put above the bun in Sattriya dance by the females is the representation of Bhakti.



Female attire in Sattriya



Costume of gopis

- The *Ekaharya* is a newly added concept in Sattriya repertoire for the proscenium stage compositions. While artists from Guru Bipin Singh Gharana are trying out to envisage single costume for both the male and female graces.

References:

- Bandopadhyay, Sruti. 2010. *Manipuri Dance: An Assessment on History and Presentation*. New Delhi: Subhi Publications.
- Devi, Jamini. 2010. *Cultural History of Manipur*. Translated by Sheela Devi Chaudhary. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Devi, Darshana Jhaveri and Kalavati. 1978. *Manipuri Nartana*. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia.
- Jhaveri, Suverna. 1989. "Costumes the raiments and the adornments." In *Dances of Manipur the classical tradition*, edited by Saryu Doshi. Bombay: Marg Publications.
- Mahanta, Jagannath. 2016. *The Sattriya Dance of Assam: An Analytical and Critical Study*. New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi.
- Massey, Reginald. 2004. *India's Dances*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Neog, Maheswar. 1984. *Bhaona The Ritual Play Of Assam*. New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi.
- Rangacharya, Adya. 2019. *The Natyashastra English Translation with Critical Notes*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd.
- Saikia, Gobinda. 1997. *Sattriya Nrityar Ruprekha*. Guwahati: Rina Saikia.
- Sashtri, Alok Nath. 1991. *Abhinayadarpan*. Kolkata: Navapatra Prakashan.
- Singh, M. Kirti. 1988. *Religion And Culture of Manipur*. Delhi: Manas Publications.
- Unni, N.P. 2014. *Natyashastra Text with Introduction Englisg Translation and Indices*. Vol. III. Delhi: NBBC Publishers & Distributors (P) Ltd.